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ABSTRACT

The information presented in this document is intended to guide career educators who wish to tap CETA (Comprehensive Education and Training Act) funds to help support career education endeavors for inschool youth, especially since the 1977 additions from the Youth Employment and Demonstration Project Act (YEDPA) have given CETA a more significant role with the inschool population. The author first traces the role of youth in pre-CETA manpower programs and in CETA programs to 1977. The relative effectiveness of CETA program strategies over the past fifteen years is then summarized and includes a discussion of ineffective program strategies, programs and services of demonstrated effectiveness, strategies that appear to work best for certain target groups, and administration practices and related factors which influence success. Next the options available for serving inschool youth under the 1977-78 laws and practices are delineated and a discussion focusing on CETA/Career Education interface is presented. Finally, recommendations are offered for linking career education to current youth employment policies for the enrichment of both. (BM)

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CAREER EDUCATION

AND THE COMPREHENSIVE EMPLOYMENT AND TRAINING ACT

by
Garth L. Mangum

February 1978

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CAREER EDUCATION

AND THE COMPREHENSIVE EMPLOYMENT AND TRAINING ACT

Given that the 1979 budget of the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA) was recommended at $10.8 billion, while the administration chose to recommend only a continuation of the $10 million annual funding for career education out of an authorized $110 million, it is not surprising that the Office of Career Education might wonder about tapping the CETA till. The two serve a population overlapping in concept but little in practice. CETA's concern is those over 16 years of age finding it difficult to compete successfully in the labor market. Only the 1977 additions from the Youth Employment and Demonstration Project Act (YEDPA) gave CETA any significant role with an inschool population. On the other hand, career education has ambitions to permeate the entire education structure but has, in fact, been, with a few bright exceptions, limited to the kindergarten through grade 12 range. As a traveler's guide to career educators, it may be useful to trace the role of youth in pre-CETA manpower programs, in CETA to 1977, and the options available under 1977-78 law and practice. From that review, it may be possible to extract some useful recommendations for linking career education to current youth employment policies to the enrichment of both.

Pre-CETA Manpower Programs

The Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962 (MDTA), The Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 (EOA), Title VII of the Civil Rights Act, amendments to these Acts and amendments to the Social Security Act in 1967 are the relevant pre-1973 laws. MDTA provided for classroom and on-the-job training in "occupations wherein there were reasonable expectations for employment following training." Originally available to any unemployed or underemployed, after its first few years it was limited largely to the "disadvantaged," those who were both poor and without satisfactory employment, plus one of (1) over 44 years of age, (2) under 22 years of age, (3) member of a minority group, (4) a high school dropout, or (5) physically or mentally handicapped. EOA supported a Neighborhood Youth Corps (NYC) program of limited work experience, a Job Corps program of residential vocational schools, Operation Mainstream, essentially an adult NYC, a Community Action Program to provide a flexible variety of activities by and for the poor, and New Careers, a program to develop paraprofessional job opportunities. As an antipoverty program, EOA enrollees had to be poor by Social Security Administration guidelines. The Social Security Amendments of 1967 introduced the Work Incentive Program (WIN), a combination of training and placement for adult recipients of Aid to Families of Dependent Children (AFDC).[1]

Using a broad Kenneth Hoyt definition of Career Education, "An effort aimed at refocusing American Education and the actions of the broader community in ways that will help individuals acquire and utilize the knowledge, skills, and attitudes necessary for each to make work a meaningful, productive, and satisfying part of his or her way of living,"[2] only MDTA, Job Corps, and WIN can be described as having some such elements.

The "work experience" programs, NYC, Operation Mainstream, and New Careers, might have contributed significantly to learning about work. However, NYC projects consisted for the most part of activities having little relation to real jobs, without the discipline to build work values and sound work habits and with limited attachment to educational institutions. A few contained basic education components. Some were designed to keep youth in school by providing part-time income. Rare was any attempt to inculcate "decisionmaking, job seeking, job getting, job holding skills, skills required for making the transition from school to work, from work to school, and for combining school with work."[3]

NYC was primarily a program to keep poor youth off the streets while providing them needed income. It was true to those modest goals and successful to that degree, but there is no evidence of a long term career contribution. That conclusion was even more true of Operation Mainstream, the enrollees of which were mostly older men at the end of unsuccessful working careers who were being carried toward a time of eligibility for Social Security retirement.

New Careers was more ambitious. It posited the existence of sub-professional activities separable from those being performed by professionals and structurable into short but upward "career ladders." It suffered from reluctance of professionals to have routine parts of their activities severed and of local governments to assume the costs of employing the sub- or paraprofessionals after the end of federal eligibliity. Most were employed in NYC-like activities. However, there were outstanding projects which were linked to associate degree educational programs and brought employment as teacher aides, nurses aides and other medical paraprofessionals, and aides to parole officers and social workers who could claim the most practical of backgrounds. There are anecdotal but no quantitative measures of outstanding successes. The program made a significant contribution to the development of the paraprofessional movement. However, only in these unique examples could it be called a "career education" program.

The WIN record is similar to the New Careers record from a career education vantage point. Its eligibles are out of school youth and adults of AFDC families and 17.4 percent of its enrollees in the typical year 1976 were under 22 years of age.[4] The program emphasized direct placement but both classroom and on-the-job training, as well as an extensive range of social services, can be offered to make placement and continued employment feasible. For none is the goal explicitly more than an entry level job in order to leave the welfare rolls and the record shows limited numbers able to achieve that.

MDTA and Job Corps are more significant for activities that might have contributed to career education for their enrollees. MDTA was not a youth program, yet 40 percent of its enrollees during the last years of its life were 21 or younger.[5] MDTA's stock in trade was short term vocational training (usually 26 weeks) in entry level occupations generally characterized by high turnover. However, the inadequacy of standard vocational institutions led to the development of skills centers which could provide prevocational orientation for those without significant labor market experience, on-site personal counseling, remedial basic education combined with the skill training and, conceptually at least, exposure to training in a variety of occupations. In practice, however, the enrollee was usually referred directly from the public employment service to an open "slot" in a particular training program without occupational choice. Significant innovations were individualized, modular, open entry-open exit training with the trainee allowed to leave to take a job after advancing as far up a ladder of related occupations as he or she cared to progress. MDTA's greatest limitation was its restriction to entry level, high turnover occupations accessible through short periods of training to reduce per capita costs. Its 104 weeks of individual eligibility was never used for cost reasons.

The on-the-job component of MDTA was more literally describable as subsidized employment. The employer received a small payment, usually $25 per week per worker for 26 weeks ostensibly to offset training costs, but there was no check on the nature of training and no attempt to assure an experience of long term career experience.

Job Corps had[6] and has a more impressive record for career education related components. However, these are not in the training activities themselves which differed little in occupation or duration from MDTA. More important was the "group living" emphasis that tried to improve the attitudes, conduct, and grooming of youth in ways that would make them more attractive to employers. The Job Corps Conservation Centers also worked out continuing relationships with unions in apprenticeable crafts making it possible to move directly from the centers into apprenticeship. Nowhere does there appear to be direct relations with employers. More recently, Job Corps has added linkages with community and other colleges for its most successful enrollees. Certain Job Corps centers are being given the assignment to prepare for entrance to the Armed Forces those who have previously tried and failed.

To summarize, the pre-CETA emphasis was on provision of income support and useful activity through work experience programs and short term training for placement in entry level jobs without thought of longer term career development.

The CETA Record

The CETA record is not much better, though its potential is greater. Title I authorized almost any combination of manpower services thought useful to achieving placement for unemployed, low income persons. However, the limitation of funds contrasted to the eligible population puts on the familiar pressures for a "lean program for many, rather than a rich program for few." Though without age limitation, nearly 60 percent of the enrollments in its Title I comprehensive employment and training programs in 1976 were 21 or under and a little over one in five of its public service employees under Title II and VI were under 22.[7] The lack of reporting on other than broad categories such as "work experience" and "classroom training" leaves one with only anecdotal knowledge of content.

CETA became law in December 1973 and was implemented for fiscal 1975 in the heart of the deepest recession since the great depression of the 1930's. With so few placement opportunities and so many persons on lay-off, on-the-job training was almost abandoned. Classroom training might have been relied upon as a holding action until the economy recovered. However, unemployment three years into recovery remains at levels which have in the past been considered recessionary. Therefore, one-third of all CETA Title I enrollments in 1976 were in work experience activities and another three out of ten were in public service employment. Classroom training enrolled only one-fifth.[8]

Classroom training appears to have retrogressed under CETA from some of the commitments under MDTA. The trend has been away from the full Skills Center treatment toward "individual referral" to regular vocational/technical programs without the supportive services generally required by the disadvantaged. The tendency, therefore, appears to be to enroll in classroom training those presumed to be lacking in occupational skill alone and to divert to work experience and public service employment those not capable of performing successfully in the classroom without additional support.

Rarely does CETA public service employment offer anything but a temporary job. But for youth, realistic work experience in real jobs is a major developmental need. Unlike the limited NYC experience and many of those following MDTA Training, the PSE jobs are akin to regular ones in the public sector, exposing youth to the values of stability and of fringe benefits, pay at above the minimum wages, and a job content which appears to carry less negative stigma than most of the blue collar and service jobs available to youth. However, 1976 amendments to CETA required a shift away from assignment to individual jobs similar to regular ones in public agencies in favor of work crews assigned to tasks not previously being done. The concern was that the CETA slots might simply become a means of shifting state and local personnel burdens to the federal budget resulting in displacement rather than a net increase in jobs. While the approach may help solve that problem, it is almost certain to diminish the value of the program as a means of preparation for the competitive labor market.

CETA has perpetuated Job Corps and the 1977 youth amendments have doubled its size and opened the opportunity for career education-like improvements. Title III is for national programs for migrant labor, reservation Indians, and others who cannot be confined within a city or county jurisdiction. Practically nothing is known of the content of those programs.

Thus, CETA cannot be generally praised for its career education contributions. However, one of its strengths and weaknesses is that discretion is left to prime sponsors at the state and local level. A few have designed or adapted innovative programs on behalf of youth which have career education significance.[9] No information is available as to how widespread or typical such projects are but the fact that they are singled out suggests that they must be rare.

Baltimore: The Harbor City Learning Center -- The Harbor City Learning Center, developed by the Baltimore CETA prime sponsor and operated under contract by the Baltimore City Public Schools, is listed in reports to the Department of Labor as a work experience program. However, it would be more accurately described in educational jargon as cooperative education and work-study. Some 450 high school juniors and seniors enrolled in the vocational curriculum are assigned to and paid the minimum wage for an average of 30 hours per month of training related work in public or private nonprofit agencies. Another 300 in the general high school curriculum are provided an average of 10 hours paid work experience without limitation to training-relatedness.

More innovative is an alternative curriculum component for 700 16-19 year old dropouts and potential dropouts. The basic units of this program are four "mini-schools," each staffed by a cluster coordinator, five teachers, and two support staff. Each offers nontraditional courses structured to relate to jobs in the occupational cluster each specializes in: business, health, communications, and community servies. Each participant chooses a mini-school according to occupational interest. The mini-schools operate year round in non-school public buildings to avoid supposedly distasteful identification with traditional schools. For alternating two-week periods, the students study at the minischools. For instance, the health occupations school teaches job-related biology. English composition is learned by writing about work done in hospitals, math is applied to laboratory work, and history to medical discoveries. For the alternating two week periods, the students work at related worksites around the city sampling different jobs in each cluster. Enrollees earn academic credit for both phases as well as pay at the minimum wage for 60 hours per month. The mini-schools are supported by a Student Resource Center where counselors offer academic and career guidance and keep track of student progress. Personal counseling centers on behavior which might prove unacceptable on a job. A student review committee sets and enforces behavior standards for the substantial percentage of the students who are parents, a parent-infant center is available as a source of day care, a child learning center, a work site for some of the enrollees and a source of training in parental skills.

The program has set detailed performance standards for itself as well as for the students. The 70 percent retention rate is considered a good record for a program offering a second chance to dropouts.

Bremen, Georgia -- Community Based Career Exploration: This rural town of 4,000 people has adapted the Experience - Based Career Education plan of the Appalachian Educational Laboratory. It has three plans of student involvement: (1) two hours a day at a work site and the remainder of the day in regular classes; (2) a more equal split with or without independent study, and (3) a full day at the work site with academic credit earned by independent study. Following an orientation session including a series of interest, aptitude and occupational tests, students plot their characteristics on a matrix relating this information to the 114 work traits defined in the Dictionary of Occupational Titles. Work sites are chosen, in relation to those traits. A student spends a minimum of three weeks at each work site and may observe as many as four work sites per quarter. The program needs little description to a career education audience. Its major innovation is that it is paid for from CETA rather than education funds.

Albuquerque, New Mexico -- Work Experience Program: The Albuquerque program consists of a Youth In-School Employment Program offering subsidized work experience for economically disadvantaged youth enrolled in a normal high school program, a Cooperative Education program providing subsidized work experience employment in the regular cooperative education program of the school system, and a School on Wheels, serving high school dropouts by enrolling them in a special school with a flexible work related curriculum. The first is a standard NYC in-school or vocational education work-study approach worthy of note because of the use of CETA funds. The second is also standard "coop" education except that CETA can pay all or part of the wages, relieving the employer of that burden.

The School on Wheels enrolls dropouts in teams of around 23 students, each counseled and guided by a team leader who is a teacher or staff person. The teams attend classes together at a main center or at three satellite classrooms around the city. Two areas of study, basic skills and career enrichment, are offered in each classroom. Because most entrants have no more than a fifth grade academic level, courses in basic reading and math skills are required of all. Classroom teachers teach reading, math, social studies, science, communication, and physical development. In addition, each teacher develops an "enrichment" course in a career-related field. For every three hours spent in academic activities, each student is allowed to work four hours in a CETA-subsidized job slot in a public or private non-profit agency. The team leaders are responsible for developing job sites which will contribute to employability. Each high school credit requires 180 hours of combined worksite and classroom time. Students have access to medical and dental services through CETA as well as free lunches and other school programs.

Oakland-CETA Youth Program: Oakland's CYP program is designed to reflect the city's ethnic diversity and involves ethnic organizations as well as the schools, the employment service and other public agencies. Each enrollee is given a "bank account" of 500 hours of paid participation. Work experience coordinators work out with each an individualized Enrollee Participation Agreement for a mix of school, work, and training activities. Upon entering the program, the youth receive testing, assessment, orientation, counseling, and referral to manpower services. The latter begin with a maximum of 85 hours of pre-work experience training in work habits, interview techniques and job search skills. Enrollees then progress to a career exploration component for on-site exposure to occupational settings, classroom presentations, individualized examination of specific careers, and further job search skills. A maximum of 45 hours is allowed for this phase.

Enrollees attend their regular academic classes without pay. However, the school provides up to 400 paid hours in supportive education, whether remedial, pre-GED, tutoring, or specific occupation related classes. Enrollees are also allowed up to 300 hours for paid work experience and 400 hours of subsidized on-the-job training with private employers, as long as the total does not exceed the allotted 500 hours.

Portland, Oregon -- Emergency Home Repair: CETA eligible youth spend one-half day in school and 20 hours a week in 14 member crews, each with a team leader, winterizing and renovating substandard homes. The goals are income, incentive to stay in school, and work experience in the building trades. Work experience coordinators in the school insure integration of academic and vocational requirements.

St. Louis -- Student Work Experiences: This program combines law enforcement, social services, and CETA funding. Applicants are referred through the juvenile courts. Three alternative componerts are offered:

- an Assessment Center which gives diagnostic assessment to all incoming students;
- an Educational Center where specific skill training tasks are developed for each student; and
- a Work Program which provides paid work experience.

Within these components, enrollees are offered three learning phases -- the Basic Skills Improvement Plan, the Cultural Skills Improvement Plan, and the Vocational Preparation Plan. The Basic Skills Improvement Plan provides remedial education in reading, mathematics, and language arts. The Cultural Skills Improvement Plan provides general social exposure through a specific set of activities. The Vocational Preparation Plan includes exploration of self-values and work ethics, social and communication skills related to employment, work production, and introductory economics. Students' participation in all three plans is ongoing throughout their enrollment.

Individual client's needs are determined during a two- to four-week placement in the Assessment Center. During that period, Center staff observe client behavior and develop an assessment and recommendation package to be reviewed by the director. Once admitted the enrollee can remain until the age of 18. Half of each school day is spent in individualized academic instruction as part of the basic skills improvement plan. The remaining half day is spent on work-sites in various city agencies. Social training instructors at those sites monitor and coordinate services.

Students receive the federal minimum wage for their work experience. Their on-the-job training covers a variety of vocational areas including auto mechanics, clerical skills, community health services, building maintenance, and hospital auxiliary services. Work sites are developed for the participants within city government. At those sites students work under the direct supervision of line city employees.

When a student successfully completes the program, Providence staff try to place him or her in permanent employment in city agency, in private industry, or in a training program. At present there is no formal mechanism to develop permanent jobs.

St. Paul -- Youth Career Exploration and Employment Project: YCEEP is offered in St. Paul area high schools which enroll a high percentage of economically disadvantaged youth. This includes all the public high schools, and several "alternative" schools, which serve youth unable to function in a traditional school setting. In addition, a small number of enrollments are taken from area parochial schools that need a program of this kind for their eligible disadvantaged students. Eligible students are those St. Paul youths who conform with CETA guidelines for the economically disadvantaged. YCEEP is designed as a three-year comprehensive program to begin in the sophomore year and continue through the senior year. YCEEP has both an in-school and summer component.

Youth are recruited during May of their freshman year. Once accepted, the student is immediately enrolled in YCEEP's summer component. Program staff have developed approximately 400 worksites offering a variety of skill training and opportunities for career awareness. YCEEP students progress through a program designed to build upon educational and training skills acquired the previous year. All tenth grade students work for 10 hours per week in non-profit government agencies. Their school curriculum emphasizes attitudinal development and a broad range of vocational and academic courses. Eleventh grade students have the option of continuing in a non-profit agency or transferring to private employment (again at 10 hours per week) under a state funded on-the-job training program. Their curriculum stresses skill development and vocational planning. In the twelfth grade, jobs are secured to allow significant training, usually at 15 hours per week, in an area of particular career interest.

Counselors meet with enrollees on an individual basis for at least one-half hour session per month to discuss worksite and curriculum interests and concerns. Counseling is devoted to exploring college, vocational training, or employment options. Up to 200 students receive post-graduate financial help, counseling, and job placement services. All students receive the minimum wage; private sector jobs are subsidized by the employer.

Life skills training is an integral part of YCEEP's Career Exploration Program. At the students' option, they can undertake these skills training courses in: auto maintenance, horticulture, family health, home education, consumer and business education, and occupational relations. Through individual counseling, a minimum number of skill training hours are determined for each student, subject to reassessment. Since the life skills courses are open to all students enrolled in the St. Paul school system, a broad mix of participants is ensured.

Salt Lake City -- Project Cooperation: Project Cooperation for economically disadvantaged high school drop-outs offers three phases of training: vocational classroom training, on-the-job training, and in-school work experience.

When entering Project Cooperation, all youths take a general aptitude test. They are then assigned to either a counselor (for in-school institutional training component) or a job developer (for OJT and work experience components). Participant placement in a particular program component, training course, or job slot is jointly determined by the counselor or job developer and the participant on the basis of skill assessment, reading and math aptitude, needs, and interests.

Actual training consists of four components:

- basic educational development,
- institutional training,
- on-the-job training, and
- work experience.

All students participate in the educational segment and are assigned to the institutional training, OJT, or work experience according to age, interests, and abilities. Since a major focus of Project Cooperation is to encourage and assist clients in completing high school or in attaining a General Education Diploma, staff work with Salt Lake City high schools and community and adult education programs to develop an academic program for each student. To further ensure the relevancy of the school-work curriculum, institutional training classes are taught by professionals in 15 schools throughout the area. Classes in welding, graphics, clerical skills, and other career areas are taught on an open-entry/open-exit basis. Each student is allowed approximately 500 hours to achieve job readiness.

The institutional training program provides a "hands-on" training experience. The student attends a classroom laboratory for three and one-half hours a night, four nights a week, for approximately seven months. Enrollees receive the minimum wage during their training period. An arrangement between Salt Lake City schools and Project Cooperation staff gives students high school credit for their work.

The third program component, an On-the-Job Training program, provides training equivalent to that received in the institutional training program, but in an on-the-job setting. The OJT component is designed primarily for youths who have left the educational system and show no inclination to return. Contracts are written with public or private sector employers who are willing to provide vocational skill development and work experience. Those agreements provide 15 to 40 hours per week of training and employment; the employer is reimbursed one-half of the wages up to $3.00 per hour. Students work a maximum of 600 hours during the duration of their OJT participation. Those involved in an OJT placement are also encouraged to complete high school.

The fourth component is the in-school work experience program. It provides exposure to the work world through placing local high school students in public sector employment on a part-time basis. Students can work during school hours thro[illegible]a release-time arrangement with the high schools. Students participat[illegible] 15 hours a week from the time of enrollment to the end of the school [illegible]ar. They receive the minimum wage. The work experience component is available to participants for one year; after that time they can enroll in the institutional training or OJT components.

Monthly contact with the employers through worksite visits and supervisory discussion is also maintained. Staff puts heavy emphasis on job development and post-program placements in private sector unsubsidized jobs. All CETA-subsidized OJT contracts including those written for youth contain assurances that the employer will be willing to hire the CETA client upon successful completion of training.

Savannah, Georgia -- Youth-Community Coordination Project: The Savannah/Chatham County Employment and Training Consortium allocates funds for 95 work experience slots for economically disadvantaged youths ages 16 to 21. The Coordinator of Guidance Training, Job Placement, Evaluation, and Testing for the Savannah and Chatham County Public Schools is responsible for identifying youth to fill these job slots. This is done as part of the vocational and pre-vocational programs in the public schools.

Eligible applicants are identified along with applicants for other vocational programs at the beginning of the school year. The coordinator and school staff continually develop jobs throughout the community. All jobs are kept on file in a central job bank; they are also listed in eight area offices located in the high schools. Through the public school program CETA-eligible applicants are placed in subsidized work slots where they work up to 10 hours per week and are paid $2.30 per hour.

As an additional service, a job preparation course has been instituted in several of the area high schools. All students placed in jobs through the school's program (including CETA employees) are required to take the course. Another program component brings representatives from industries in the Savannah/Chatham County area to the schools to talk with students about projected needs.

The grant also provides 16 out-of-school slots for youth 18 to 21 years old who dropped out of high school. The local Community Action Agency provides counseling, tutoring, referral, and other services to these youths.

Students spend a minimum of three months in the program. During that time they attend mandatory tutoring sessions and General Education Diploma (GED) preparation classes as well as group motivational sessions to improve their work-related social skills. Enrollee career goals are identified during their intake interview. A student may remain in the program until he or she passes the GED exam.

Participants' jobs are developed by the project staff. Staff attempt to match the jobs with enrollees. Most enrollees work a maximum of 20 hours per week. They receive the minimum wage; however, no additional compensation is paid for time spent in GED, tutoring, or motivational sessions.

Vocational Exploration in the Private Sector -- National Alliance of Businessmen

Originally initiated in 11 cities in 1971 as a one-year pilot program, VEPS was designed as a career exploration and training program for 16-year-old, in-school NYC enrollees who were potential dropouts. The main departure from the regular NYC program was that VEPS enrollees were placed at private sector work stations and received intensive counseling. NYC paid a portion of enrollee wages. The purpose of this joint effort of the Departments of Labor and Health, Education and Welfare and the National Alliance of Businessmen (NAB) was to reduce the high school dropout rate, upgrade the skill level of youth entering the labor market, and provide a private sector environment in which to promote transition from school to work. The apparent success of the project in the first year resulted in the program's expansion to 11 other selected cities in 1972.

Several lessons were provided by the VEPS experience which have particular application for policy at the national and local levels. First, the success and experience of the VEPS program dispel the notion that wages paid to enrollees in private sector work sites are a subsidy which should be prohibited. In fact, employers not only failed to get rich by these limited wage subsidies but viewed the subsidy as only a partial offset to significant extra-ordinary costs which they incurred in providing part-time work experience and career exploration to disadvantaged youth. Safeguards can be designed to prevent abuse of the wage subsidy.

Second, the VEPS program was also found to be a supplement to cooperative work study programs operated by local school systems in which the students are paid by private employers from their own funds. Although they are an effective asset, these work study programs often exclude all but low-risk students. Third, a VEPS model provided exposure to a broad range of job opportunities in the private sector which many youth would never have imagined, much less gained access to. Indeed, results of the study showed that for a substantial proportion of enrollees, VEPS eventually led to permanent employment with the private employer.

A fourth lesson demonstrated by VEPS was the importance of having a program staff which a private employer could turn to for aid when a problem concerning the enrollees arose on the job. This backup capability was a great source of reassurance to the employer and was a necessity for the enrollees' successful transition from school to work.

Under CETA, the VEPS concept is getting a fresh look through the Title III nationally funded programs. In the summer of 1976, a limited demonstration was mounted in nine cities with NAB and the Human Resource Development Institute, AFL-CIO (HRDI) as sponsoring organizations. This was considerably expanded for summer 1977, and prime sponsors were encouraged to develop local VEPS programs with summer Title III dollars. The original CETA legislation prevented use of Title I funds for subsidizing private employment. However, if the new Title VII discussed below becomes law, VEPS is an example of what may well be done under it.

The Career Intern Program - Philadelphia: Though not CETA funded, the Career Intern program sponsored by the Opportunities Industrialization Centers is such an outstanding example of what might well be done with such funding that it is described here. The interns (they are never called students) are either dropouts or those underperforming and on the verge of dropping out from regular central city high schools. They must have at least a fifth grade reading level and not been characterized by major disciplinary problems. Essentially, they are self-selected for the program which moves them from a standard over-crowded city high school with over-worked staff and minimum counseling to a unique school which accepts only 250 per year and has a low student-teacher/counselor ratio.

As described in the NIE final report subtitled An Experiment in Career Education that Worked, each intern participates in a career counseling seminar and prepares a career development plan which leads to a series of one week "hands-on" experiences with employers in fields of the intern's interest. Meantime, the interns study a required curriculum and electives, all oriented around career applications and consisting of specially prepared individualized materials. The structure is essentially ungraded and students work at their own pace until they have completed the material required for graduation.

Careful records have been kept of interns and a control group. The clearest gains have been in the number of former dropouts and academic failures who have not only graduated from high school, but entered post-secondary education. The subsequent employment records of the interns are somewhat but not notably better than the controls, but the interns are much less likely to be out of school and out of work. About one-third of the interns drop out again, but that compares to 85 percent of those controls still in school at the time the interns entered CIP.

Evaluators found that all school conduct of the interns improved: attendance, keeping appointments, initiative, completing assignments, test-taking skills, working well with peers and teachers, attention to classwork, willingness to repeat failed courses, reading and math skills (though the latter were still below national norms). As to employability, they improved markedly in career planning and career decision-making ability and in the behavioral protocols required by employers. Conclusions were that the success arose from a supportive atmosphere, ready availability and dedication of teachers, counselors and other staff, dealing with the intern as "a whole person," treating the school and program as a tool rather than an identity, providing a school experience congruent with realistic life goals and expecting the interns to make their own decisions and to perform.

Whether such an approach is generally replicable is open to question. The costs beyond the preparation of curriculum which could have served many schools, were somewhat greater per student than in general high schools but not above the standard for vocationally oriented high schools. The major problems would appear to be staff dedication and employer cooperation when generalized to large numbers. Nevertheless, the program seems to indicate that imagination, dedication, and clear and relevant goals can work when made available to youth who want a second chance.

How typical the above projects are and how near they come to exhausting the universe of joint CETA/school efforts there is no way of knowing since there is no general reporting scheme for such activities. At least they demonstrate some interaction between CETA and the schools and indicate the nature of what is being done.

Relative Effectiveness of Program Strategies

Broadening from the limited CETA information to a review of the manpower programs of the past 15 years, it is possible to summarize some lessons from experience -- what has seemed to work reasonably well, and what not so well in school related manpower program efforts on behalf of disadvantaged youth -- and for which ones and why?

Relatively Ineffective Program Strategies

Available literature casts doubts upon the efficacy of the following types of youth programming:

Attempts to Return Dropouts to Traditional Schools. Many manpower programs unsuccessfully tried to convince youth to return to the very institutions that neglected them or rejected them in the first place. If the difficulties that dropouts experience were actually caused by the fact that they dropped out of school, the obvious remedy would be to try to get them back in, or to try to keep them in school before they dropped out. Walther found, however, that NYC in-school and out-of-school programs repeatedly attempted to do both, but with very limited results.[10] Few youth drop out of school due to economic necessity or to lack of parental support; instead, most drop out simply because they do not get along well in school. They are not likely to return until they can foresee more successful and satisfying experiences.

Restricting Enrollments Only to the Most Severely Disadvantaged. As pointed out in April, 1977, Congressional testimony from the National Collaboration for Youth, the problems faced by near-poor youth are virtually indistinguishable from those facing economically disadvantaged, and experience shows that program effectiveness improves when programs are not too highly segregated or participants too indelibly labelled.[11] The limitations imposed under DOL's NYC-2 program -- restricting enrollments to 16 and 17 year olds from poor families -- appeared to be a major flaw in program design, resulting in concentrations of poorly motivated and underachieving youth. Programs were therefore lacking in success models and in program atmosphere conducive to reinforcing desirable behaviors. Failure, rather than success, became the norm.[12] Programs that segregated young workers have tended to result in transfers of income and little more, according to Freedman's The Youth Labor Market.[13]

Programs of Complete Remediation and Comprehensive Services. In Employment and Training Programs for Youth, Taggart concludes that the national experience with Job Corps demonstrates the uncertain effectiveness of complete remediation -- it's expensive, takes much time, has high rates of dropouts, and has produced no demonstrably more effective models for serving disadvantaged youth.[14] Although

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none of the Job Corps models proved to be pre-eminently successful, it was noted that performance improved rather than deteriorated when frills were slashed. CEP's individualized approach was not particularly effective in dealing with youth, and often became merely a holding action. In short, individualized, comprehensive treatment programs seldom work well, and often do not appear to work at all.

Programs Consisting Only of In-School and Summer Work Experience. DOL studies are replete with indications that work experience programs in the traditional mold have no long-term beneficial effects upon enrollees. A series of GAO reports indicate that summer youth programs have not had any significant effect on reducing dropouts among high school youth. Given the complex nature of the dropout problem and the variety of social and personal factors causing students to drop out, GAO found the NYC program concept too simplistic an approach to bring about any dramatic results.[15] Pines and Morlock conclude in Work Experience Perspectives that 'bare-bones' work experience programs (providing no more than a job) will not be effective for most youth.[16] North Star's follow-up studies of 1,144 rural youth who held part-time work experience jobs in high school did not show measurable beneficial effects from participation in work experience programs.[17] National Longitudinal Survey data shows that work experience demonstrates no particular advantage for girls enrolled in school.[18] Among Spanish youth in the Southwest and rural youth in the Southeast, North Star found that occupational success was not significantly related to whether they had worked part-time in high school,[19] and DOL literature in general supports the conclusion that work experience by itself has no appreciable effect on the employability of enrollees. Walther, in DOL's most definitive analysis of various youth program strategies, notes that positive results were achieved only when work experience was directly relevant to a post-program job.[20]

The Work Incentive Program (WIN). In Youth in the WIN Program, the Bureau of Social Science Research notes that it would be a mistake to assume that WIN as currently organized can reasonably be expected to prepare any large portion of the youngest clientele to compete successfully in the labor market. "That WIN does not, and probably cannot, have strong effects on the lives of those who appear most to need help to become prepared for full, self-sustaining participation in the primary labor market should come as a surprise only to those who do not fully understand the goals and structure of the program," BSSR concludes.[21]

Programs of Intensive Counseling. Wirtz notes in The Boundless Resource that guidance and counseling is by virtual common consent the weakest link in the school-to-work transition.[22] Other research documents do not appear to dispute that perception. Walther found in a study of NYC-2 programs that total hours and percent of enrollee time devoted to counseling had, if anything, a negative association with employment outcomes.[23] In assessing Determinants and Consequences of Occupational Information for Young Women,

Mott and Moore cite NLS data on 5,149 young women and found it disheartening; the extent of vocational counseling was irrelevant as a determinant of the knowledge of the world-of-work.[24] In Analysis and Synthesis of DOL School-to-Work Transtion Programs, Walther also found information on counseling to be discouraging.[25] "No studies were located that demonstrated a positive relationship between the amount or type of counseling received and the achievement of program goals," he concluded. A number of programs, such as Job Corps and more recent Supported Work demonstrations have de-emphasized counseling after gaining experience on the relative effectiveness of various components. Counseling in manpower programs has generally produced little success in solving problems not directly related to work; contingency management and behavior modification systems using rewards and other tokens have been flashy in the short-run, but generally ineffective over a sustained period of time.

Vocational Education of Other Strategies that Isolate Youth from Life Experiences. The demand for 'instant adults' reflects little realization of the time and experience required to bring adolescents from youth to adulthood. Many young persons never spend so much as one day in the place where their parents work, and simply do not know about the workplaces of other adults, according to Hobbs.[26] If youth are denied mature responsibilities and expected not to intrude on the adult world, they cannot gain the experience needed. The central conclusion of a 1973 study of transition to adulthood in the US was that "youth are becoming increasingly isolated by the schools both from adults and from life experiences."[27]

Walther, Taggart, and others have noted that vocational skills training has positive effects on employability, but only in limited circumstances.[28] Walther further concludes that while skill training is an important tool, it seldom solves difficult problems by itself. Most employers do not require specific skills, and generally place technical skills secondary in importance to "coping skills"; i.e., those competencies which permit an individual to function effectively within formal or informal groups. Employers are generally willing to train persons who possess adequate coping skills, but are seldom inclined to take on the rehabilitation of individuals who lack them, even if those individuals have technical skills required for the job.

Youth involved in vocational curricula are no more 'isolated' than youth in general education or college preparatory curricula. However, since vocational students make an earlier entry into the permanent labor force than their college-bound conterparts, their needs for job information, job exposure, and refinement of coping skills are far more immediate. To the extent that vocational education programs at the secondary school level fail to recognize the importance and immediacy of those needs, they may well be placing their students in greater relative isolation that other students whose subsequent education and life experiences may better facilitate labor force entry several years thereafter.

Programs Seeking to Refine School-to-Work Transition Mechanisms. After considerable research in the United States and abroad on collaborative efforts and coordinative mechanisms designed specifically to ease the youth transition from school to work, Reubens concludes there is no evidence to show that youth who use them are better off than those who do not, and further notes that sponsors of transition services often imbue them with magical powers they simply do not have.[29] By themselves, transition services cannot offset deficiencies in educational systems or differences in young peoples' abilities, characteristics, and backgrounds. Transition services only work effectively when there is a fairly close match between supply and demand for youth labor. Transition services are also impotent to correct structural, cyclical, or seasonal shortages of youth jobs, and it is still to be proved that they exert much influence on frictional joblessness.

Rural Programs Consisting of Work Experience and Visitation to Urban Areas. Oregon State University's review and synthesis of DOL rural-oriented research and demonstration projects found that the majority of rural youth migrate to other areas, and that a major problem affecting their employability and quality of life is their lack of preparation for urban living.[30] Rural folk do not generally recognize this fact, and rural areas generally lack the institutional resources needed to prepare youth for urban life. Moreover, none of the DOL research documents cited exemplary programs that would enhance the abilities of rural youth to make the transition. NYC-type work experience programs in rural areas are filling a need, but appear to be too narrow in scope to produce lasting results. Further, participation in a series of specifically tailored rural youth programs initiated by North Star Research Corporation apparently made no difference on the subsequent lives of participants.[31]

North Star's findings showed no impact from the demonstrations and revealed no significant difference as a result of special vocational counseling or educational programs. Vocational training in rural areas were found typically to have no effect on the later occupational adjustment of rural youth because of its irrelevance to jobs elsewhere. Rural work experience was of not help in finding subsequent jobs, and such programs were often administered by persons unwilling or unable to prepare their enrollees for the inevitable transition to urban life. A 1973 North Star study of rural youth in the Southeast and a 1974 study of Spanish youth in the rural Southwest produced essentially the same results; i.e., that work experience as such has no appreciable effect on subsequent employability.[32] Finally, the Oregon State review notes that none of the DOL rural youth literature reveals a single instance of a program that worked successfully, either in terms of empirical evidence or subjective reasoning.[33]

Programs and Services of Demonstrated Effectiveness

Among the program strategies that appear to produce positive results, several can be identified from the literature as having consistently contributed to successful adjustment to work and adulthood. These include programs providing increased educational attainment, programs leading to increased labor market awareness, information, and exposure, and programs aimed at facilitating the socialization of youth and developing their skills for coping with the demands and values of mainstream society. While the available documentation yields few actual program models that could be considered unqualified successes, the growing body of evidence suggests strongly that the components listed below -- and various combinations thereof -- produce desirable long-term results.

Increasing the Levels of Educational Attainment. Practically every study available on this subject indicates that success in the workplace is directly and inseparably related to the level of education attained. Parnes' and Cohen's analyses of NLS data, indicate that educational attainment exercises a rather strong influence on the earnings and occupational positions of both men and women.[34] On the other hand, high school dropouts generally adjust poorly, no matter what their backgrounds or places of residence. Another NLS-based publication, found that even among groups with relatively low levels of educational attainment, positive relationships exist between years of schooling and measures of labor market success.[35] In relative terms, however, schooling was found to impart a lesser advantage to blacks than to whites for obtaining better jobs.

Walther found that on virtually every measure of labor market performance available, youth who left school without obtaining their high school dimplomas have poorer records than those who completed high school; i.e., unemployment rates are higher, labor force participation rates are lower, and they fall largely into the dual labor market syndrome of frequent movement among unsatisfactory jobs will little improvement in earnings over time.[36] Further, evidence indicates that the group having the most labor market problems is non-white high school dropouts, indicating that race combined with low educational attainment is associated with the most severe labor market maladjustment.

As noted in the preceding section, however, there is no evidence to support the contention that programs to prevent dropouts or to return them to schools will produce desired results. Instead, special programs of remediation and alternative education seem to hold the greatest promise of success.

As noted by Addison Hobbs in a presentation to the National Urban Leaque's 1976 Conference on Youth Employment, a prominent Detroit judge has often commented that he simply did not see employed juveniles coming into his court. On the other hand, the major cause for juvenile deliquency is that early on, many kids become school failures in a society that offers no alternatives to education.[37] The experience in Baltimore and elsewhere

is that acceptable alternatives can be developed, and Walther's Educational Model for Manpower Programs provides useful guidance on the design elements that appear to work best for such programs.[38] In terms of programming, however, the broad sense of available information suggests that while educational attainment is quite important, it must be integrated with other program offerings to achieve desired results.

Work Experience Relevant to Vocational Objectives. Manpower literature is replete with examples of work experience programs that failed to produce discernible results. Of those that have shown positive outcomes, all appeared to be tied in some manner to vocational objectives or career development. Building upon the broader definition of work experience as "all employability strategies that ultimately prepare people for work", Pines and Morlock cite evidence indicating that work experience can and does provide several important ingredients critical to success in the job market, including work orientation, improved behavioral skills, and a relatively 'safe' testing ground upon which to reveal attitudes and interests.[39]

Walther, after extensive reviews of various work experience approaches and outcomes, concludes that work experience by itself has no appreciable effect on the employability of enrollees. Only when the work experience was directly related to post-program jobs were positive effects noted.[40] Such successes have been shown in recent years with such programs as Vocational Exploration in the Private Sector conducted by the National Alliance of Businessmen (NAB), Experience Based Career Education, and the Career Intern Program of the Opportunities Industrialization Centers (OIC). Each of these programs is geared to provide youth with work experiences in a variety of public and private settings, and each has shown significant positive results in terms of school retention, occupational choice development, decisions to continue education beyond the high school level, and success in seeking and keeping jobs.[41]

The clear implication of that, is rather than becoming an end unto itself, work experience should provide exposure to different kinds of work to help the individual decide what he or she wants to do. Poor results are likely to follow work assignments to jobs for which there is not a ready market; i.e., community aides in a Community Action Agency. When the quality of work experience is low, there is a clear negative relationship between the length of time spent in the program and subsequent employment outcomes. Finally, work experience has been shown to be most effective for those disadvantaged individuals who constitute the top stratum of the target population. Very few positive results have been shown by work experience programs anywhere in working with the most severely maladjusted.

Increasing the Extent of Labor Market Information and World-of-Work Understanding. Parnes and Cohen have concluded in Labor Market Experiences of Noncollege Youth that the more a young persons knows about the world-of-work, the higher his wages and occupational status are likely to be.[42] Their findings -- based on analysis of National Longitudinal Survey data -- further led to the suggestion that programs of labor market information, aimed at the disproportionately large segments of black youth with meager labor market knowledge, may be a useful instrument for equalizing opportunity. Career Thresholds (vol. 6) concludes that NLS data provides empirical support for the belief that the extent of a young person's information about the world-of-work is positively linked to measures of success in the job market.[43] Both earnings and prestige of post-school jobs are seen as significantly related to the extent of occupational information as measured prior to leaving school. However, Mott and Moore also used NLS data in determining that awareness of the world-of-work appeared to have no effect upon the occupational status of women, largely because of traditional employment patterns and societal restrictions that set stereotypical "women's occupations."[44]

While they need more and better information, other research has shown that most youth are far from having the kind of knowledge that would enable them to make occupational choices in the manner suggested by utility-maximizing modes of conventional economic theory. In Youth and the Meaning of Work, Gottlieb found that whatever their race, sex, age, or socioeconomic background, most young adults feel their career choices were not made in any systematic or reasonable fashion -- that they fell into, rather than selected, particular fields.[45] And finally, as Wirtz notes in The Boundless Resource, "It is a strange and never-intended situation that tens of thousands of dollars in public funds will be invested in providing one young person with years of preparatory higher education, and so little will be put into seeing what can be done about another's moving directly from high school to work."[46]

The documents reviewed for this study were not particularly instructive in terms of labor market information systems that might best serve the needs of youthful labor force entrants, nor did they cite particular programs thought to be most effective in building an understanding of the world-of-work. One known and proven approach, however, is the prevocational Human Resources Development program demonstrated by the North Carolina Manpower Development Corporation during the early 1970's.[47] Results of early efforts were sufficiently positive to have resulted in permanent institutionalization of the program at state expense throughout most of North Carolina's community colleges and technical institutes. Conceived initially as a device for providing access to post-secondary education for those who previously had been excluded, HRD has become an effective job preparation and placement vehicle as well as an instrument for increasing the educational levels of participants, the majority of whom are disadvantaged.

Programs Offering Career Education and Labor Market Exposure. Impressive national results appear to be accumulating in the area of programs designed for the specific purpose of providing labor market exposure and career education through a series of temporary assignments to a variety of work situations. These programs appear to respond to what the National Child Labor Committee has criticized as the failure of past programs to provide categories of employment that would provide appropriate part-time employment, and jobs in which it is understood that training and development of workers is as important as immediate productivity.[48]

Experience Based Career Education -- now known also as Community Based Career Education (CBCE) -- is structured around the idea of making available in the community a large variety of work which youth can fill in the role of observer and learner. Results of recent demonstrations have been uniformly impressive, and replication of early models is taking place throughout the country. CBCE incorporates methods used successfully for years; i.e., cooperative education, competency-based academic instruction, schools-without-walls, and work study, while combining academic, personal, and vocational development. Variations are possible in the relative emphasis place on time in school and time on jobs, and several programs have begun to offer academic credit for independent study. In following up the results of CBCE's 375 first year graduates, the National Institute for Education found that 50 percent of the former students were in college as full-time students, 15 percent were in college part-time, and 35 percent were working full-time.[49]

Despite its success to date, CBCE does have limitations. Clearly it thus far has not -- and perhaps cannot -- reach those facing the most severe problems and barriers to employment. And as Reubens notes in Bridges to Work, as valuable as the intensive activity of CBCE may be for the relatively few who experience it, a major issue is the feasibility of obtaining enough employer participation to extend it to a large proportion of students.[50]

Other types of career education models have emerged in recent years, and several of these may hold greater potential for serving disadvantaged students than the school-operated CBCE projects. For instance, the various vocational exploration programs promoted by the National Alliance of Businessmen have shown the efficacy of part-time and summer work exposure in a variety of private business and industrial worksites.[51] These attempts, however, have not been widespread, and the variety of opportunities made available by private employers within any given locality have appeared to be extremely limited.

Another career education model, the Career Intern Program (CIP) described earlier in this paper, has shown high rates of success in serving disadvantaged Philadelphia youth through a three-phased program of career awareness, alternative education, and multiple worksite experiences, supplemented with intensive vocational counseling and transitional follow-up.[52]

Vocational Training and Counseling. As noted in the preceding section, the available body of information fails to produce evidence that vocational training and counseling in and of themselves produce long-term benefits in the marketplace. However, the various experts and research analysts are not in complete agreement on the subject, and several authorities note that these activities, when conducted in combination with other youth services, are often associated with positive outcomes. Taggart, in reviewing youth employment and training programs for NCMP's publication on improving the school-to-work transition, says that the weight of evidence suggests that training has favorable and significant impact on enrollees, and that such human investments lead to future earnings gains that exceed program costs.[53] Walther and Magnusson, after completing longitudinal studies of NYC Out-of-School programs, concluded that the two program elements having greatest impact on the employability of former enrollees were completion of skills training and placement assistance.[54] Walther also notes in this synthesis of DOL youth programs the spectacular success of such programs as the sophisticated skills training provided by TAT at Oak Ridge, Tennessee, and also cites early NLS data indicating that youth who complete high school vocational curricula earned higher salaries that other youth who enrolled in non-vocational curricula but who did not go on to college.[55]

Grasso, on the other hand, concluded that high school vocational curricula generally provided no particular advantages to youth although there may be especially relevant local programs that do.[56] Parnes' 1977 report based on NLS data found that while schooling, formal training, and OJT all play important roles in the achievement of labor market success in the early years, there was no evidence to support conclusions that high school vocational graduates fare better than regular curriculum graduates.[57] However, Adams and Mangum in the most recent reworking of NLS youth data refute those negative findings and argue that vocational education has been a good investment for youth.[58]

In rural areas, North Star's studies conclude that almost no rural schools give voc-ed training aimed at preparation for specific available occupations, and that the typical rural vocational education offerings have no significant effect upon the occupational adjustment of rural youth.[59] However, the Oregon State synthesis of rural youth program does endorse the use of vocational counseling for rural-to-urban migrants, provided that the counseling is somehow linked to placement in the eventual job market.[60]

Also commenting on the utility of counseling in youth programs, Walther notes that greatest results seem to accrue when efforts are focused on problems that relate directly to work; i.e., things that keep young people away from successfully finding and holding onto jobs. Walther further concludes that counseling should be kept largely on the areas of vocational exploration, job seeking skills, and job application techniques.[61]

On balance, while there is little basis to challenge the intrinsic value of vocational training, there is much to suggest that this activity falls somewhere in the lower half of the effective strategies spectrum. First, classroom vocational training in the overwhelming majority of cases can provide nothing that cannot also be obtained either through work

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experience, OJT, public service employment, or other hands-on approaches. Secondly, as noted by Walther, by Pines and Morlock, and by countless employers, behavioral skills -- as opposed to specific technical skills -- are more basic to the performance of work, and govern a person's performance over a longer period of time and circumstances.

Program Strategies to Improve Individuals' Coping Skills. From the entire body of available information, it appears that the single most important variable in determining success in work and life adjustment is the acquisition of behavioral traits that enable youth to interact, grow, and function within formal or informal social groups -- such things as developing and executing plans, working with others, controlling impulses, processing and interpreting information, communicating, problem solving, and working within an authority structure.' Walther calls these 'coping skills'; with them, most people can acquire job skills, given enough time and instruction.[62] Without them, however, an individual is likely to fail on the job, even if he possesses adequate job task skills.

Coping skills do not function in isolation, but work instead as an integral part of the ongoing behavior of an individual. Because they work together as parts of a functioning system, they are difficult to change. There is no greater threat to an individual's identity than one which appears to undermine the capacity to function as an integrated whole, and people tend generally to fight off anything that is perceived as a threat to their identities. On the other hand, individuals are motivated generally to do those things that they do best; i.e., they usually prefer to exercise skills already established -- and methods that work for them -- rather than trying to establish new skills and behaviors. The coping skills acquired and proven to work in growing up on the streets, for instance, are enormously different from those important to successful development in the mainstream society or the workplace.[63]

It is clear that young people who have been socialized under one set of circumstances encounter major problems when they are expected to live under a new and different set, explaining why in most instances a young person who has grown up in the ghetto can find it extremely difficult to adjust to the unfamiliar opportunities and rewards of the regular economy. Walther uses the differences to explain the "blot-out" phenomenon so familiar to manpower practitioners — an unexplained and often spectacular failure on the part of a disadvantaged youth who, posed on the brink of success, reverts to a more familiar behavior wiping out months of progress.[64]

There are various strategies and approaches available to assist the personal growth and developmental processes. However, manpower programs have been consistently unsuccessful in generating motivation where none *exists, leading Walther and others to* point out that two key ingredients of youth programs must be a positive program atmosphere and the presence of success models. These and other related factors are briefly summarized below:

Program Atmosphere -- Fellow participants must reinforce desired behaviors. A peer group that is hostile towards academic achievement will make attainment of program goals almost impossible.

Success Models -- One of the mistakes of the war on poverty was to concentrate poorly motivated enrollees into one program, with the result that failure rather than success became the norm. Values became inverted, and efforts to learn were often seen as undesirable behavior by the group.

Building Confidence -- Accomplished by providing reinforcements, such as earning money, completing a task, contributing to a common goal. It is important here to allow a young person to fail without severe adverse consequences.

Awareness of Self and Others -- Generally helped through peer counseling and group interaction, as successfully demonstrated by programs for black teenaged females in New York City,[65] and by HRD programs in North Carolina.

Walther also identifies a number of other coping skills seen as important to successful movement into the job market. These include self-management, frame-of-reference flexibility, reconciliation of conflicting demands, handling conflicts of interest, relations with those in authority, reaction to aggression, information processing style, problem solving styles, and interpersonal skills.[66] Finally, Walther concludes that youth can be helped to negotiate the labor market system by programs designed to:

1) Identify the vocational options that exist for young workers;

2) Identify the personal desires and abilities as related to these options;

3) Develop the coping skills necessary to perform adequately in the type of work chosen;

4) Acquire the necessary task skills when they are a job prerequisite;

5) Develop job-seeking and employment application skills; and

6) Help youth learn how to advance careers after entry into the labor force.

This model, Walther notes, is in sharp contrast to the simplistic approach of training people for jobs that make use of their training. Skill training and placement are important tools of manpower development, but by themselves seldom solve difficult problems.

Experiencing Rewards for Accomplishments. Throughout the youth literature, there runs a consistent thread of evidence that successful outcomes are often associated with programs that allow young persons to experience the intangible but very important rewards of being a part of something larger and of contributing to its successful accomplishment.

The Youth Conservation Corps has been an enormously popular program with participants because it was not only enjoyable, but also gave them the opportunity to see their individual and collective efforts result in a tangible product or accomplishment; i.e., restored public facilities, new nature trails, and the like.[67] Howard Pullen, Director of YCC in North Carolina, says that one YCC feature found most impressive to youth is that of having something they worked on named after them, and tells of one young girl's experience in helping build a footbridge over a stream she'd always crossed on her way to school. According to Pullen, her pride was indescribable upon seeing the plaque that fellow YCC'ers erected designating the new structure as 'Sarah's Crossing'. Similarly, YCC administrators elsewhere are now making a regular practice of placing signs and permanent markers bearing the names of youth who worked on particular projects.

In a 1976 Ford Foundation study to identify model programs for youth services, the unpublished findings of the review team indicated that community improvement projects represented the best potential method examined for employing youth.[68] This conclusion was based on the observation that not only do community improvement projects permit individuals to learn transferable skills while working under supervision, but that they also promote teamwork concepts, they achieve tangible and visible results while contributing to the well-being of others, and they instill pride on the part of young workers who both see and help bring about improvements in their communities.

Several other successful youth program models are predicated on the rewards and value of performing services to others. One of these is a tutorial program widely promoted by the National Commission on Resources for Youth, involving older youth in the tutoring of younger students, often with outstanding results.[69] A North Carolina variation of that approach has produced tremendous benefits to older persons and youth alike through a program using students to teach adult non-readers.[70] The program has proved to be an immensely rewarding experience that has served not only to increase understanding between generations of people, but has also enabled many senior citizens to know for the first time the satisfaction of being able to write their names, correspond with friends, or read the daily newspaper.

Public Service Employment. The experience of EEA in the early 1970's proved that young people in public service jobs made significant gains in the labor market, especially when skill development was included as part of the job experience.[71] Unfortunately, many of the youth hired under EEA were also the first to be let go in the face of recessionary cutbacks. Nevertheless, PSE can be an effective strategy, and there is perhaps no greater assurance of

job security than that of demonstrated competence at performing a particular task. In rural areas, PSE is seen as an especially valuable vehicle for youth entry into the workforce, because in most rural areas of the country, only agricultural employment produces more earnings than government employment. However, most disadvantaged unemployed in rural areas do not have the skills required for most of the jobs in rural units of government -- thus making PSE one of the keys for providing youth with access points to public sector jobs.[72]

The major limitation of PSE as an effective program strategy, however, is that available resources cannot reach more than a small percentage of the unemployed population. Youth seeking available PSE positions usually find themselves in competition with older and more experienced workers for the limited openings created, and do so with predictable results. Youth have generally fared poorly in terms of their selection for participation in regular or project-type PSE employment under CETA Titles II and VI.

An effective strategy, however, for moving relatively large numbers of youthful applicants into PSE-type employment during periods of high unemployment is the Programs for Local Service (PLS) approach successfully demonstrated by ACTION during the early 1970's.[73] PLS is a low-cost, minimal recruitment effort that can serve as a full-time job substitute by placing youth volunteeers in a variety of public and private non-profit work settings. Published assessments of PLS demonstrations indicate that high levels of participant satisfaction and low rates of dropping out can be achieved through PLS, which offers a temporary sheltered environment through which to enter the world of work. Moreover, it was found that volunteers receiving living allowances of $50 per week can do much to solve local problems in the areas of community planning, education, manpower, health, housing, and other social services, and that the estimated value of work accomplished nearly doubles the basic public costs of the program.

What Appears to Work Best for Certain Target Groups

The available literature is not particularly instructive in terms of what appears to work best and what appears to work least well for specific target groups and ethnic groups. Some patterns do emerge, however, and others can apparently be supported by data from the national longitudinal studies. This section summarizes the various approaches that seem to hold particular significance for four youth groups -- disadvantaged, minority, urban, and rural.

Disadvantaged Youth. The majority of past national youth programming efforts have been directed towards serving the most disadvantaged, and have attempted to do so with inauspicious results. There is a great deal of evidence to suggest that one key to maximizing the benefits of such programs to disadvantaged youth, however, is to avoid concentrating disadvantaged youth and segregating them for non-disadvantaged youth. This is not to disclaim

or discount the need and the importance of special developmental assistance to disadvantaged youth. Rather, the experience to date indicates that these special needs should be met within a program context that permits close contact and socialization with persons from other backgrounds and of other age groups. The spatial separation imposed by society on all youth works against their adjustment to an adult world, and to further separate youth into employment and training programs because of their social or economic backgrounds cannot further the goals of facilitating their movement into mainstream employment or social surroundings.

As noted in the preceding section, disadvantaged youth are thought to benefit especially from personal development and the improvement of those basic skills that enable humans to interact successfully, to handle conflicts, to make sound decisions, to communicate effectively, and to assume responsibility for their own behavior. Because the competencies required for success in the workplace are much different from those required for recognition 'on the block', socialization changes must often accompany movement from the irregular economy to the domain of mainstream jobs. In addition to development of individuals' coping skills, other program approaches thought to be particularly beneficial to disadvantaged youth include increasing levels of educational attainment, increasing the extent of knowledge about the labor market, and exposure to a variety of work settings and situations.

For in-school youth, there clearly is reason to question both the efficacy and the perpetuation of programs that provide no more than part-time employment. Such an approach is to simplistic to solve complex problems, and nowhere has it appeared to result in long-term benefits. Promising alternatives include multiple placements such as those featured within the experience-based career education and the private-sector vocational exploration programs. Classroom vocational training for in-school youth may be worthwhile when training is relevant to local jobs availability, and when tied to post-program placement. Otherwise, however, vocational education programs may needlessly isolate soon-to-be-employed youth from real life experiences.

For out-of-school youth, program strategies must take into account the educational levels and future aspirations of participants. Programs aimed at returning dropouts to secondary school classrooms have generally proved to be ineffective. Alternative education can produce better results, but only when there has been a recognition on the part of the student both of the need for and the relevance of additional education. As with in-school youth, strategies aimed at increasing the levels of labor market knowledge, broadening the extent of job market exposure, and refining the individual's coping skills are all seen as being associated with positive long-term results.

Summer youth programs have generally been too simplistic in their approach to have produced significant results other than to provide income maintenance. Much more benefit could derive from programs of affective learning, community improvement, and diversification of summer options as demonstrated in the City of Baltimore.[74] Summer opportunities such as those afforded to YCC enrollees offer the distinct advantages of providing not only income, but also participation in group-oriented activities, socialization with those from other socio-economic backgrounds, and sense of pride in work accomplished.

Minority Youth. One crucial but easily-overlooked fact is that not all minority youth share the same kinds of problems in education and preparation for work. For instance, Blacks, Chicanos, Indians, and Puerto Ricans generally tend to have high school dropout rates, while Orientals, Cubans, and foreign-born youth generally do not. Many Hispanic youth face language barriers that must be overcome before most will even be in a position to work on other aspects of employability development. Native American Indian youth cling to traditional values that often are neither understood nor appreciated in the job market. Unfortunately, with the exception of one YCC study and a series of pre-CETA DOL reports,[75] there is a dearth of information on what approaches work best for various minority groups. Only black youth appeared to have received extensive attention throughout the literature in terms of strategies for improving minority youth employability and/or employment prospects.

While it appears that the normal aging process enables many youth -- especially white males -- to move from beginners' jobs to others with higher earnings and future promise, the same is not true of minority youth (and females), many of whom appear to get stuck permanently in the least desirable jobs. As pointed out in a recent U.S. News and World Report feature article, the difference between white and black kids is that the white youth will take a menial job knowing that he'll soon move on to something better, while the black youth sees his father and mother and just about everyone he knows doing just that kind of work. For him (or her), menial jobs are not just a way station -- they're the final destination. They'll be around whenever they're needed, so why hurry to get there?[76]

Parnes and Cohen have found that labor market exposure was linked to earnings increases for youth generally, but moreso for white males than for blacks. They also concluded that formal training seemed far more advantageous to white males than to other groups, and suggested that programs of labor market information (aimed at the disproportionately large segments of black youth who possess meager labor market knowledge) might be an effective instrument for equalizing opportunities.[77] Grasso, using NLS data, found that while young blacks expressed greater desires than whites for additional post-secondary training, they received such training much less frequently.[78] On that basis, Grasso recommends that the access of black youth to post-secondary training be increased.

Contrary to widespread opinion, Walther has found no empirical evidence to support theories that white flight to suburbs and black concentrations in inner cities — followed by suburbanization of jobs -- has led to deterioration of employment opportunities for black youth. If anything, the numbers of entry level jobs in the inner cities have appeared to increase. Further, when educational attainment variables are held constant, there is no evidence that black youth living in suburbs make any better adjustment to work than inner-city youth.[79] However, NLS data shows that while schooling is positively associated with later employment outcomes, it also appears that schooling imparts less of an advantage to blacks than to whites.[80]

In terms of programs designed primarily for black youth, both the National Urban League and the OIC of American haveshown substantial recent results. The Philadelphia OIC Career Intern model has been successful in providing an alternative high school for dropouts or for those in serious risk of leaving school, coupled with work exposure in a variety of carefully-chosen sites. CIP has recently been funded under YEDPA for expansion to five additional sites during Fiscal 1978. Urban League affiliates in Lexington, Kentucky, and in Springfield, Illinois, have shown similarly successful results through respective programs of in-school career counseling and unsubsidized summer job development and placement.[81]

As noted previously, YCC has proved to be both a popular and apparently rewarding experience for all participants, regardless of race and sex. However, YCC has since inception consistently underenrolled black youth in proportion to their representation in the general population, and it is not clear whether substantial increases in the rates of black participation would be feasible due to geographic mismatches between YCC's federal work-sites and localities with high concentrations of black youth.[82]

Urban Youth. The overwhelming majority of past youth programs efforts and research documents have dealt with the problems and experiences of urban youth. This study no doubt also reflects the urban bias, not only because that is where the youth problems and programs have been most highly visible, but also because too little information is available about what works best in rural areas and why. Thus most of the programs and strategies discussed in this report deal with urban youth. And almost without exception, the literature on minority youth has focused on those living in the inner cities to the exclusion of those residing elsewhere. However, while most of the approaches that have been identified as successful appear to pertain primarily to urban youth, there is a remarkable absence of information about any programs that claim success in determining what it takes to reach the most severely maladjusted; i.e., the hardest of the inner-city "hard-core". Few, it appears, have even attempted to address the issue.

In conducting site visits to assess grant applications for the new youth entitlement projects under YEDPA, field staff found evidence of problems that lie beyond the scope of any present approaches, including the proposed entitlement services. Problems in cities such as New York, Chicago, or Los Angeles -- and perhaps in several hundred other major cities as well -- do not show up in groups of 15 to 25 young people, but instead are counted in terms of thousands. The fact of life in many inner-city communities is that street gangs effectively control much of what's happening within that community -- who goes in, who sees whom, and who's doing what. Teachers and school administrators are not only powerless to affect what goes on in the streets, but often seem to have lost control of their classrooms. Dominance in the streets is measured in terms of which group can turn out the most armed troops on short notice. In one west coast city, Chicanos were reputed to be the toughest, because they could put 2,000 soldiers on the streets at the first sign of trouble.

One fact that should require explanation only to those who do not understand the magnitude of the problem is that in such communities, very little is likely to change as a result of youth entitlement grants or any other "employment and training" program now known to DOL. The problems are simply larger than the resources now being made available to combat them, and the issues are too complex to be resolved through one-dimensional employment programs.[83]

In a December, 1977 article entitled "Young Blacks Out of Work: A Time Bomb for U.S. Cities," U.S. News and World Report notes that youth clustered in big cities form a subculture that leans heavily on drugs, alcohol, crime, prostitution, and welfare, and concludes that neither manpower programs nor antidiscrimination laws have appeared thus far to reach the impenetratable core.[84]

The solutions instead seem to lie in greater revitalization efforts for cities, in providing greater access to better jobs, and in emphasizing programs that permit youth to continue education while working, rather than having to give up one for the other. And it may well be that any eventual solutions will have to involve greater comprehensiveness of services, rather that piecemeal approaches that have tried but have seldom succeeded at treating the crime part, the illiteracy part, the health part, the poverty part, and the joblessness part separately.

Rural Youth. Of all the various youth segments, those perhaps shortchanged the most by available research if not by the programs themselves are youth who grow up in rural areas. DOL, for instance, possesses a grand total of one research document on rural youth generated since the inception of CETA, and that document -- like this one -- is based largely upon pre-CETA efforts rather than upon recent programming developments.[85]

According to Oregon State's 1977 review of DOL's rural-oriented research and demonstration programs, the majority of rural youth soon migrate to other mostly urban areas. Moreover, a major problem affecting their employability and their quality of life is their lack of adequate preparation for the almost inevitable transfer to urban living.[86] NYC-type programs in rural areas have been found too narrow in scope to produce significant long-term benefits, and followup studies of 1,144 youth from rural areas who had part-time jobs in high school found that work experience per se had no measurable effects in terms of entry wages, employment, or social adjustment.[87] Finally, the Oregon State review termed the results of intensive North Star Research demonstrations as "startling"; i.e., participation in the comprehensive experimental programs made no difference in the subsequent lives of enrollees.

Summarizing the rural youth experience, OSU concludes that none of the DOL youth literature reveals a single instance of a program that worked successfully, either in terms of empirical results or subjective reasoning.[88] Further, a basic weakness of all available literature in DOL's repertoire is its lack of concentration on answering questions and providing guidelines for CETA planners, managers, and operators. Nevertheless, OSU's review argues that more youth demonstrations be undertaken, in keeping with a faith in the value of special programs for rural youth and despite past failures of such programs to show demonstrable results.

In evaluating the models involved in North Star's rural demonstrations in three North Central States, Reid and Miles found that in that area of the country, youth needs were usually unrelated to poverty, but rather were the result of cultural, social, and geographic isolation.[89] Further, most rural youth were found to move to cities without being prepared for the move, and large proportions -- especially males -- tend to return home following an unsuccessful stay. Almost no rural schools were found to offer vocational education training aimed at preparation for specific occupations; local institutions were inadequately preparing students for urban living, yet rural leaders were found to generally resent 'outsiders' who tried to impose new programs on the community. Reid and Miles recommend, on the basis of their demonstration attempts, the de-emphasis of work experience programs in rural areas, and concluded that such programs often fail to prepare participants for urban living because their administrators are from rural orientations and either cannot or will not help to facilitate the change.

In the rural Southeast, North Star found that work experience as such had no effect on the employability of youth, and concluded that such an approach was neither necessary nor desirable. Positive gains were noted only when work experience activity was tied to post-training employment.[90] In the rural Southwest, North Star found that the majority of Spanish-speaking youth migrate to cities where they face not only barriers of language, but also the disadvantages resulting from the near-inevitable dropping out of school that affects poor and non-poor Chicanos alike. Enrollments in bilingual education programs produced positive results, but occupational success was not found to be significantly related to whether or not these youth had worked part-time while in high school. Vocational counseling tied to later job placement was thought to be worthwhile, but that perception was not supported by empirical findings.

Overall, programs of alternative education and career exploration are probably as important as any known strategies for rural youth. As North Star concludes, however, there is little likelihood that even with remedial help the rural dropout will be able to compete effectively for jobs with the urban high school graduate when they both show up in the same personnel office. OSU found that because government is the second largest employer in most rural areas, PSE programs offering skills development provided distinct advantages to those fortunate enough to participate.[91] Experience-based career education has been conducted successfully in smaller rural communities, such as Bremen, Georgia, where 150 different worksites were obtained in a community of 4,000 residents.[92] Finally, the YCC has been more readily accessible to rural youth than to city dwellers, although there is no empirical evidence that it produces greater benefits over time for rural youth than for urban enrollees.

Administration Practices and Other Factors Influencing Success

Beatrice Reubens' Bridges to Work contains the following observation:

> The record of social reform programs in the United States shows repeated failures...We expect too much too quickly and seldom face up to the critical need for qualified personnel to implement reforms.

Indeed, the quality and commitment of administrators and staff may constitute the single most important variable influencing the overall results of employment and training programs generally, and youth programs in particular. And while the influence of program administrators is seldom treated in formal analyses of program results, it nevertheless appears that strong leadership is a requisite to program success. In the entire history of federally funded manpower programs, the one thing that most successful programs have shared in common was the presence of competent, enthusiastic, and informed leaders.

In terms of administrative practices, Pines and Morlock have identified the following keys to building successful youth program models:

1. Clear identification of goals as the linchpin for accountability;
2. Evaluation design(s) to include measurable objectives;
3. Develop administrative structures; i.e., clear and well-defined client access systems, monitoring systems that go beyond simple compliance and into operational analysis, performance contracting with instruments that are clear, understandable, and enforceable;
4. Develop program content;
5. Worksite selection controls (such as Baltimore's central administrative clearinghouse for all program worksites, both public and private);
6. Develop payment plans as vehicles for training and conditioning;
7. Supportive services, provided initially but phased out as new worker assumes responsibility for meeting their own needs; and,
8. Scheduling in terms of a detailed work plan leading up to actual program starting dates; i.e., a realistic timetable for implementation.

Other factors influencing program success are scattered throughout the youth literature. As noted previously, the practice of concentrating enrollments on the very young or the most severely disadvantaged proved to be a major flaw in pre-CETA NYC-II programs because it generally precluded the presence of success models within the enrollee group. Mixing of ages and socio-economic backgrounds has been helpful to YCC participants, and is credited with having contributed to that program's positive public image. Moreover, a number of nationally-recognized youth organizations, including the 1973 President's Advisory Committee, the National Collaboration for Youth, and the National Manpower Institute have advocated the mixing of age and socioeconomic groups. EBCE and PLS demonstrations have also enjoyed remarkable success by extending services to a diverse youth population, rather than restricting enrollments to narrowly-defined target groups.

Walther has found that counseling, by itself, cannot carry the burden of manpower programs. Counseling can be of help in such areas as vocational exploration, job-seeking skills, and bringing about better understanding of an individual's own behavior in terms of job requirements. Otherwise, counseling has been shown to have little or no effect in solving problems that require more specialized attention. Peer group counseling, however, has been associated with successful outcomes in several demonstration programs, including OIC's Career Intern Program and a special employment program for black female teenagers in New York City.[93]

Quality of instructional personnel has also been found to be an important variable in determining overall program success. The New York City program mentioned above found it very important to have committed black female staff to work with young women in the program, and noted that young women from similar backgrounds as those of enrollees were especially valuable because they gave students a point of identification and a success model to emulate. In Models for Manpower Education Programs, Walther found that the quality of the teacher will have a decisive effect upon program success, and pointed out that formal qualifications have been found less important than the personal characteristics the teacher brings to the job.[94] Further, a Greenleigh study in 1966 found that certified teachers are not essential to learning situations involving disadvantaged students, and that high school graduates with proper motivation and personal qualities performed as satisfactority as teachers with extensive formal qualifications.[95] The experiences of OIC's CIP demonstration and the North Carolina HRD programs also confirm those impressions.

Remedial education, while often useful and beneficial, should not become an inflexible requirement or condition for remaining in a youth program. Walther found that the design elements that appear to work best for manpower educational programs include (1) open entry and exit, (2) modular units of learning, (3) diagnostic/prescriptive instructional approach, (4) building on success and providing a sense of progress, (5) self-paced instruction, but with alternative systems in the event that one doesn't work, (6) goals-setting, (7) utilizing errors as feedback, and (8) providing both discipline and a positive program atmosphere.[96] OIC

analysis of the CIP demonstration found that supportive program atmosphere and specific goals-settings and attainment were vital to program success, as was having a staff that shared a belief that students could and would succeed.[97]

Youth, Education, and CETA Amendments

Perhaps because coming new into office they first became aware of the familiar high levels of youth unemployment, perhaps because a new administration and a new Congress had to undertake new initiatives, youth employment became a high priority in 1977 and the Youth Employment and Demonstration Projects Act (YEDPA) became law. Its $1 billion was less than already being spent on youth under CETA through titles not specifically targeted for youth. It recommended no new departures in programming. Its Community Conservation and Improvements Projects were not unlike the Neighborhood Youth Corps of 1964-73 or even the National Youth Administration of the 1930's. Its Youth Employment and Training Programs offered nothing that could not already be done under Title I of CETA, except that it was limited to youth. The differences between the concepts of the Young Adult Conservation Corps and the Job Corps Conservation Centers were hard to find.

The passage and funding of YEDPA did focus priorities. However, its most unique aspects were (a) the emphasis on experimentation after 15 years of experimental employment and training programs, and (b) the persistent efforts throughout the Act to link the schools and private employers into a Labor Department assignment.

The Youth Incentive Entitlement Project was a massive effort to determine whether guaranteeing part-time and temporary jobs would reduce school dropouts. The Labor Department was charged to work out with the schools arrangements for awarding academic credit to Young Adult Conservation Corps participants. CETA prime sponsors were required, as a condition to seeking Youth Community Conservation and Improvement Projects grants, to (a) describe arrangements with schools including cooperative programs, (b) describe plans for coordinating training and work experience programs with school related programs, including awarding academic credit, and (c) conduct any resulting program so as to coordinate jobs with classroom instruction. At least 22 percent of Youth Employment and Training Program funds had to be spent on programs for in-school youth conducted in cooperation with the schools which must include school-to-work transition services, special work experience projects, and selection for participation by school-based guidance counselors who also would provide employment and career counseling.

Despite all of this emphasis on education involvement, education institutions were not bound by the law to participate. It was up to the Labor Department and the CETA prime sponsors to win that participation. By implication, at least, the educational system could refuse to go along. Apparently, persuasion, a sense of moral obligation and cash were expected to win allegiance from them. Kenneth Hoyt in a December 1977 paper entitled "YEDPA: Obligations and Opportunities for American Education" identified 16 needs toward which he perceived YEDPA being addressed:

Youth Incentive Entitlement Projects

1. Earn enough money so they can remain in high school
2. Earn enough money so they can return to high school (for dropouts)
3. Find ways of re-entering high school (for dropouts)
4. Discover career-related reasons for completing high school

Youth Community Conservation and Improvement Projects

1. Earn money while acquiring specific vocational skills
2. Expand options for vocational skill training beyond those offered by the education system
3. Acquire general employability skills

Youth Employment and Training Programs

1. Engage in subsidized work experience that will enable them to explore career options and make better career decisions
2. Acquire specific vocational skills
3. Be recipients of transition services to be available to all youth
   a. Counseling, including career counseling
   b. Occupational, educational, and labor market information of a national, State, and local nature
   c. Assistance in making the transition from school to work
   d. Career exploration in both the public and private sector
   e. Job placement assistance
   f. Assistance in combatting race and sex stereotyping as deterrents to full freedom of educational and occupational choice.

He saw in the new youth act, not a diversion or burden to education but a challenge and opportunity to:

1. Plan and implement ways of using the broader community in the educative process
2. Learn about and implement new ways of awarding academic credit
3. Provide diversified educational opportunities for students within the framework of an integrated educational system
4. Enhance and protect freedom of career choice
5. Relate educational experiences to later lifestyles of youth.

An important issue for educators is the likely durability of YEDPA emphasis. In February of 1978, it was on the verge of being integrated into CETA which itself was being proposed for a four-year extension. The structure most likely to emerge appeared to be:

Title I - Administrative Provisions

Part A - Organizational Provisions, Prime Sponsors

Part B - General Provisions, Conditions Applicable to all Programs

Title II - Comprehensive Employment and Training Services

Part A - Financial Assistance Provisions

Part B - Services for the Economically Disadvantaged

Part C - Upgrading and Retraining

Title III - Special Federal Responsibilities

Part A - Special National Programs and Activities

Part B - Research, Training, and Evaluation Research

Title IV - Youth Programs

Part A - Youth Employment and Demonstration Programs

Part B - Job Corps

Part C - Summer Youth Employment

Title V - National Commission for Employment and Training Policy

Title VI - Public Service Employment Programs

Title VII - Private Sector Jobs for the Economically Disadvantaged

Title VIII - Young Adult Conservation Corps

Titles IV, VII, and VIII are the relevant ones for this paper. The Title IV, Part A, Youth Employment Demonstration Programs, encompasses the Youth Incentive Entitlement Projects, the Youth Community Conservation and Improvement Projects and the Youth Employment and Training Programs. The most significant change was a limitation to "economically disadvantaged" youth, except in rare cases 16-21 years of age and either unemployed, underemployed, or in school. Only the Youth Incentive Entitlement projects were not limited to these requirements. An inevitable question will be what happens to out-of-school, out-of-the-labor force youth who fit none of the criteria? The funding split is recommended as 70 percent for the Youth Employment and Training Programs which are designed and conducted at prime sponsor discretion and 15 percent each for the other two subparts which are funded competitively upon application to the Labor Department.

The Job Corps, which is already in the process of doubling in size, is to remain unchanged in concept. The Summer Youth Employment Program is a straightforward short term work experience program carried over from the Neighborhood Youth Corps.

Title VII is not limited to youth but is expected to be strongly youth oriented. The appropriations request is for $400 million for fiscal 1979 with the expectation that for the first time federal moneys will be openly spent to subsidize wages for those private employers are reluctant to hire.

Title VIII contemplates no changes from the Young Adult Conservation Corps just now getting off the ground.

Of equal interest to the integration of the youth titles into CETA is the advocacy within the administration for transfer of the YEDPA programs to the proposed new Department of Education.

CETA/Career Education Interface

CETA is essentially a remedial program and the goal of career education is to bring youth to the labor market with such values, attitudes, and abilities as to obviate the need for such programs. The day when career education is sufficiently developed, pervasive and effective to significantly reduce the need for remediation is far off and, no matter how effective the program, some will always fail or be failed and be left competitively disadvantaged in the labor market. For the foreseeable future, there will be a profound need to apply a career education perspective to remedial activities on behalf of such disadvantaged youth.

First and foremost is a long term career orientation: What combination of services is most likely to contribute to long term career success for each youth, in contrast to merely achieving placement in a high turnover first job? If one works backward from career success to what causes it, it is generally those who have most if not all of:

1. Self confidence and pleasing personality
2. Attractive appearance, by whatever standards are current and widely accepted
3. Good contacts with potential employers through friends and relatives
4. Knowledge of how and where to look for work including how to use contacts and intermediaries and circumvent barriers
5. Diligence and productivity when employed and a developed reputation for those attributes
6. Decisionmaking skills to make reasonably wise choices
7. Skills to do jobs which are in reasonable demand and recognized credentials to attest to those skills
8. Residence where such jobs exist

Career education has essentially two goals:

(a) to use the carrot of career success as a motivator to learning, and

(b) to impart the attributes of career success, contributing to 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, and 7 above and creating awareness of the need for 3 and 8.

The options available to a remedial program for youth 16 to 21 are limited and it may be useful to examine each of them to see what career education concepts might be incorporated.

Work Experience

Most work experience programs have been primarily an excuse for income transfers and a source of activity to keep kids off the streets. Career education generally begins with the inculcation of positive work values, attitudes and habits, difficult enough at six years of age if not obtained in the home and even more difficult if neglected to age 16 or beyond. Career education would require that productivity be required, good work habits be demonstrated and taught, that the job content be meaningful and that a sense of achievement be engendered in completing the tasks. That not only requires careful choice of projects but extraordinary supervisors. Supervisors must be able to maintain a rapport with youth, motivate them but still maintain discipline and require output. The most usual problem has been inadequacy of the tasks to be done to keep the youth busy and challenged. Supervisors have generally been selected without clear criteria and the combination of rapport and discipline, if it occurs, has been an accident. Selection criteria and staff training are musts.

Basic Education

Few attractive jobs can be performed without at least a modicum of communications and computation skills. Whether rational or not, many employers consider a high school diploma a minimum demonstration of ability and stability. It is probably easier to supply the credential than destroy the expectation. Yet people who have dropped out of school, at least in mind and perhaps in body, will not be reattracted by more of the same. It is, of course, easier to turn the situation around for the in-school than the out-of-school. The OIC Career Intern Program and the Experience Based Career Education Program have proven their potential for redeeming many of the dropout prone. The key has been incorporating the learning into unique, existing job oriented experiences. For the out-of-school, the incentives, particularly in direct tie to promising job opportunities, must be strong.

Occupational Skill Training

A declining proportion of total CETA resources has gone into classroom training, in part because of the recession but also because of doubt that youth were getting more out of it than a stipend. Career education, too, has given little attention to occupational skill training, leaving it for vocational education. Three major mistakes are evident from past classroom training programs for the disadvantaged.

One has been the choice of training occupations. To keep costs down and minimize the time between enrollment and placement (and maximize placements), occupations have been chosen for which training could be supplied in short time periods, usually six months. But most of those occupations were the type for which classroom training was not the usual

means of preparation. Approximately one-third of the jobs in the U.S. economy are normally filled with no formal training, pre-entry or on-the-job training. Another third requires no pre-entry training but some on-the-job training. The remaining third requires some substantial pre-entry preparation. Much of the manpower training effort has been expended on occupations in the first third. It is difficult to excite youth about training in an occupation which can be filled "off the street", as it were. The stipend was probably, for most, the major attraction. The second third are more appropriate for subsidized on-the-job training, discussed below. Even though the costs are inevitably higher, only the final third group of occupations are worthy of classroom training.

A second mistake has been a lack of occupational choice. In the earlier days of the Manpower Development and Training Act, MDTA Skills Centers incorporated a pre-vocational phase during which the applicant tried a wide variety of training courses for a few days each before setting out on a specific course of training. However, that was expensive and the practice came to be to refer an eligible enrollee to a particular program which happened to have an opening, or else to establish a whole class in a "take it or leave it" occupation. Work exploration, career decision-making, and informed free choice are essential principles in career education and are especially needed by those of limited backgrounds.

A final mistake was to separate training and placement. For those for whom motivation and trust in the system was already marginal, to undertake months of training only to be left with the uncertainty of job search was discouraging, to say the least. For youth with reasonably good labor market linkages through friends and family, the transition is not crucial. But a reasonable job guarantee is essential for the disadvantaged.

On-the-job training under MDTA proved to be essentially buying a job. Little or no training ever occurred. Nevertheless, that is no loss as long as one is clear what one is doing. The new Title VII of CETA allows direct wage subsidy. That, too, should be alright as long as the employers' reasons for not hiring the target individuals and groups was merely prejudicial and likely to disappear with experience. If there are real deficiencies, remediation must occur or the end of the subsidy will be the end of the job. The cooperative education model is probably the appropriate one. The employer's supervisors are charged with production responsibilities. A coordinator from the program staff is in a much better position to see that remedial development does take place. But career education teaches that remediation must be motivational and must provide coping skills such as deportment, grooming, and human relations as well as job skills.

Once again the challenge of career exploration and free choice must be met. Next to placement, retention has been the mark of success in manpower programs. But unless the youth has had an opportunity to try out many occupations and jobs, how can choice be offered and appropriateness tested? Neither OJT nor subsidized employment should be a one time thing.

Subsidized Employment

Though of doubtful value as a weapon against general unemployment, public service employment has turned out to be one of the most effective programs for youth. It enrolls them in real jobs working side by side with regular employees and has less of the aura of make work and income transfer. While the experience could be enriched by a cooperative education approach for the younger, say 16 - 18 year group, it is less necessary for those 19 - 21 who may find it a route into permanent public employment. For the latter, the greatest need is probably career counseling to see public sector jobs in a career context and to learn how to traverse the public employment system.

Because subsidized OJT and subsidized private employment are so difficult to differentiate, comments have already been made above. Any work experience is all to the good. Remediation requires elimination of the short comings that made subsidization necessary. Career education requires that every job be viewed in a career context. Repudiation of "dead end jobs" among manpower critics has been excessive. No job is inherently a dead end and all can conceivably be used as a stepping stone if options are available and one knows how to use them.

Supportive Services

Experience with employment and training programs has demonstrated the need by many disadvantaged job seekers and particularly youth for a wide variety of peripheral services necessary to make employment and training possible and worthwhile. These range over counseling, basic education, transportation, child care, legal aid, health services, and others. The uninitiated are generally surprised at the high percentage of female youth, for instance, who have children and by the often crucial needs for the other services.

From a career education standpoint, however, the crucial need is probably for career development planning. The providers of employment and training services rarely look beyond completion of the immediate program and placement in an entry level job. Probably the greatest weakness in the current placement process is that it is done for people rather than taught to them. Most of the publicly available labor market intermediaries such as the public employment service, private employment agencies, and newspaper want ads get only the left over job orders. Employers first rely upon informal contacts through current employees, friends and relatives, upon direct applications, and upon closed systems such as union hiring halls before turning to general intermediaries. The more effective job search skill is to learn how to be considered at earlier stages before the best jobs are siphoned off. Understanding the labor market and its institutions and acting in accord with its demands are knowledge and skills which can be taught.

Decisionmaking skills can also be taught. Appropriate grooming, deportment, and human relations skills are equally important. Every youth program participant will not need these supportive services but most probably will, requiring an assessment step to see who does and who does not. A unit should therefore be available to provide decisionmaking skills, career planning, personal coping skills, and job search training, within training institutions and as an adjunct to work experience and subsidized public and private employment. These are the essentials of career education for out of school youth.

Organizing at the Interface

Throughout 15 years of employment and training programs, an uncomfortable relationship has existed between labor and education interests. Perhaps transition from antipathy to a tempestuous courtship, an unhappy marriage followed by a divorce, and the tentative rebeginnings of courtship would be a reasonable description of the relationships between manpower interests, general education, vocational education, and career education. Prior to MDTA all but the latter occupied overlapping territory, varying between squabbling and ignoring each other until Congress forced labor and vocational education together and married them under MDTA. Throughout the years 1962-73, the Labor Department and the Public Employment Service had the responsibility of identifying people needing training and occupations with reasonable expectation of employment. The U.S. Office of Education and the state vocational education agencies had training responsibility after which the employment services returned for placement. Since the appropriation was to the Labor Department, the pursestrings gave it the upper hand and USOE was a junior partner. During those years the family quarrel was always over the same issue. For the Labor Department and the Employment Service, the job was the thing and training was incidental. To USOE and vocational education training was the goal and placement would take care of itself.

With CETA, full responsibility shifted to the Labor Department, now working with state and local governments as prime sponsors. Perhaps it was only the coincidence of recession, but training was reduced sharply in favor of work experience and direct public job creation. With YEDPA, Congress seemed to be back in the matchmaking business, but not as forcefully as in MDTA. There were requirements for labor/education relationships, perhaps a little cohabitation but no forced marriage.

As painful as the MDTA marriage was, it was productive. Since each had a touch of myopia, the combination was better than unilateral dominance by either. Education and training are necessities for labor market success but they are means and placement followed by career success is the sought-after end. A remarriage on some basis is necessary.

With the commitment to decentralize in the planning and management of programs, some form of joint influence along both jobs and education lines is needed. Voluntary selection of marriage partners may be more romantic but parental selection may be more productive. Since the MDTA marriage essentially dissolved when the congressional mandate disappeared, perhaps another mandate is needed. The Labor Department and the Employment Service are no more likely to understand career education than educators are the labor market and the job search and placement function.

The most reasonable input from the education side would seem to be from the Office of Career Education reporting to the Commissioner of Education on a USOE-wide basis. A unit there should be assigned to develop techniques directly responsive to the needs of out of school and marginally in school youth. Collaboration should be required between that office and the Office of Youth Programs to see to the inclusion of career education components in all CETA youth programs. In each state the career education coordinator from the state education agency should be a member of the State Manpower Services Council with a career education representative of the local education agency sitting on the Prime Sponsor Manpower Advisory Committee for all youth considerations under CETA. Every CETA annual prime sponsor plan component concerning youth should be required to have a career education component and regional education representatives should join the Department of Labor regional office in reviewing those components. True to the decentralization philosophy, it should be up to the prime sponsor, with local education involvement, to design that career education concept and not to be second guessed in it. Nevertheless, quality control is necessary to the extent of assuring that such components exist and the Office of Career Education should have the technical assistance responsibility to see that enough career education expertise exists at the state and local level to meet their own career education needs.

Summary of Recommendations

1. A presumed step is introduction of career education into the elementary and secondary schools of those locations, especially central cities and rural areas, where youth have the most difficulty with their transitions into a successful career start.

2. Stress dropout prevention for in-school youth and reenrollment for recent dropouts but through alternative school programs such as the Career Intern Program and Experience Based Career Education models described earlier.

3. Use work experience programs as vehicles for career exploration, the inculcation of good work habits, and the development of coping skills. See to it that the tasks are challenging and produce a visible output of value to the community. Use only staff who can combine rapport with youth and disciplined productivity. Income is not irrelevant as a purpose of work experience programs but it can be achieved without thwarting the more vital purposes.

4. Attitudes, values, and habits related to work, self confidence, self discipline, problem solving and analytical skills, interpersonal relations and reactions to authority all should have priority over occupational skills in preparation for employability. Sixteen or more years of negative influence cannot be erased but positive advancements can be. Any program of any type should contain components at reinforcing desired behavior and developing those coping skills.

5. Next to these personal attributes, understanding of the labor market and job search skills are usually the most important determinants of labor market success. They should be taught in every school and program where they cannot be realistically assumed for the students and participants.

6. Careful analysis should precede occupational skill training to determine which occupations are best learned in the classroom, which on the job, and which require no forward preparation. The answer may differ for different population groups but, in general, both frustration and waste are the products of such a mismatch. Individualized and modularized instruction, competency based curriculums, clustered training and open entry-open exit practices have been amply demonstrated as sound practices. However, classroom occupational training should rarely occur for disadvantaged youth without a direct placement tie into a job following training.

7. Every program must carry with it an air of success and assurance. Impressive facilities and positive, self confident staff who believe in their participants chances for success are essential.

8. Even more important than the staff is the nature of the participants. Mark Twain said, "If you want to improve your jails, put better quality people into them." Experience has demonstrated the error of limiting enrollment in any program to the most disadvantaged. There must be a mix which offers positive peer influence and role models.

9. In a decentralized system, these attributes will not emerge by themselves. The most useful contribution of career education to CETA youth programs would be a career education unit at the national level compulsorily involved with Labor Department policymakers with comparable state and local participation in program planning and administration. Educators have rarely understood labor markets, while those with labor market expertise have rarely understood the complexities of career development. A "shotgun wedding" may not be tranquil but it can be productive.

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